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EDWARD BELLAMY, EDITOR.

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The industrial system of a nation, as well as its political system, ought to be a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

The bankers are also talking of forming a trust.

Party organs are beginning to discuss nationalism. The conspiracy of silence did not work.

The sugar trust proposes to put the stockholders off with a $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent dividend instead of the expected 7 per cent. Here was a chance for the inside circle to turn a penny in Wall street. The public will tire of this robbery one of these days.

It is an interesting fact that the French imperialist party, devoted to reviving the empire, and placing Prince Victor Napoleon on the throne of Napoleon III., is making a distinct appeal to the radical social reform party. At the imperialist banquet, May 30, at Paris, the motto of the party was declared to be "All for the people, by the people." It was asserted that Prince Victor, if raised to power, would

prove "a democratic emperor, and found a social brotherhood." The French people will no doubt prefer to found their own social brotherhood, but the bid of the imperialists is, all the same, a sign of the times.

We call attention to an editorial in the Springfield Republican, which we reproduce in this issue, on the currency question. It was designed as a broadside against the present silver law, but to our mind it is a bad break for any journal holding the Republican's views to make. To attack a currency because based upon a merchantable commodity is but to invite an investigation into the currency issued by the national banks based upon the debts rather than the property of the people. Many, with the traditions of the banking house about their pathway, may not realize the importance of thus getting back in our discussions gradually to first principles; but the average man who has the right to demand equal laws is beginning to see that the public which patronizes banks has been tricked by legislatures under the influence of bankers and speculators. Before we get through with this business, no one private citizen, like Gould, will be able to lock up enough gold to force half of the borrowing community to drop on their knees before him and offer usury.

The Creed of Nationalism.

The world belongs to the people in it; the world belongs to all the people in it; the world belongs to all the people in it equally. It is time the owners took possession.

Gov. Russell Signs the Municipal Lighting Bill.

The news that Gov. Russell had signed the municipal lighting bill spread rapidly last week through Massachusetts, and was the topic of discussion in scores of cities and towns. The bill marks a turning point in the history of legislation in the Bay state. It is based upon principles that appeal to all nationalists — and those principles have the field.

We have definite information that many towns will immediately take steps to acquire a gas or an electric plant under the provisions of the new statute. The town of Brookline pays more for lighting its streets, probably, than any other in the state. If the local companies do not make a liberal reduction in their charges, prominent citizens declare that they are ready to have the town go into the business. Everett has already appointed a committee to secure information from other towns as to municipal ownership. Melrose is strongly in favor of municipal lighting; so is Wakefield, Hingham, Braintree, Peabody, and half a dozen other towns. The Haverhill board of aldermen have before them an order instructing a committee to consider the advisability of the city's establishing an electric-light plant.

"If this be nationalism, then give us some more of it," was often heard at the state house when the bill finally came

before the Senate upon the motion of Senator McDonald. Thus has a practical measure for the people, by the people, opened the eyes of conservative men to the virtue of nationalism as a movement, statesmanlike in its inception and applicable to the machinery of government already established.

Representative Statesmen of the Present Era.

Ex-Gov. James M. Ashley, of Ohio, is before the court of that state charged with evading taxes on \$25,000,000. Senator Calvin Brice is now before the same court on the charge of evading taxes on \$1,000,000.

It Is Not a Class Movement.

The New York Tribune is still wandering about the form of the new people's party in search of an "opening." It would like to grapple with the new-comer, and it may possibly do so during the year. It sent Chauncey M. Depew forward, last week, with a cock-and-bull story about a martinet rule among the Farmers' Alliance leaders, to the effect that "the members of the new party shall only read its own papers," and that "penalties are imposed for taking those which are either republican or democratic." This is truly terrible. It is the worst form of slavery we ever heard of, but suppose it should finally appear that this story was a transparent fabrication sent out from the east to serve partisan ends.

But the Tribune cannot see that the new party has the genuine breath of life in it because it is "essentially a class party for the peculiar and exclusive benefit of persons in certain occupations." The Tribune need not be reminded that the platform upon which the presidential campaign will be contested will be formulated in Washington, Feb. 22, 1892, or at a convention then appointed to assemble some weeks later. The Cincinnati platform was formulated at a conference of citizens and not at a convention. As the farming element predominated at Cincinnati, it was natural that the agricultural feature was prominent in its utterances. During the next nine months, the various reform bodies the country over will attempt to get together, — and they will.

The political student who seeks for the vitality of the people's party, and neglects the character of the delegates, will fail to comprehend the significance of the movement. There is a moral ground-swell behind the popular revolt against the old parties. If there is not, then it is useless to lift a finger in organizing the people's party. The new party is not a class movement; it is developing a lateral cleavage in both of the old parties. For example, the farmer indeed has suffered from the unjust and criminal freight discriminations of the great railroads. So have cities and states. The railway magnate has built up and pulled down cities and whole sections of states by the levying of tolls and the abolition of tolls — a function which belongs to the body politic and not to the syndicate. This is no class affair. It goes to the very root of civil government, and touches the pocket of every citizen. It will not do to say, as the Tribune does, that the Cincinnati conference was composed of the "used-up hacks and cast-off odds and ends of the republican and democratic parties." There never has been a conference of its size in this country that contained so many "hayseed" delegates who were utterly green in the ways of

politics. But they knew what they wanted. Here is one of their planks:

We demand the most rigid, honest and just national control and supervision of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuses now existing, we demand the government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

This plank was not dictated by the political odds and ends of creation, but by men who have felt the iron heel of railroad discrimination upon their neck, and before we are done with this business the party organs will be driven into a corner, where they must argue this great question upon its merits. Agriculture may be the first to lift the standard of revolt against the railroad magnates, in their assumption of the functions of government, but it is not an agricultural question, by any means. It is another case of taxation without representation, and will not be long endured by any free people.

The Old-Fashioned and the New-Fashioned Trust.

Some of the Legislatures are quite behind the times. Here, for example, is that of Illinois, which has just passed one of those old, back-number, anti-trust bills, forbidding corporations to form agreements to regulate prices or reduce production. The Illinois legislators ought to read the papers. If they did, they would know that the sort of trust made up by the federation of distinct corporations, such as this bill is directed against, has become old-fashioned. The new form of trust is one in which the former distinct corporations are wholly merged, and is entirely legal. The first experiments in trusts were attended with some mistakes in details of organization which left them open to the law, but as they are now generally organized they are invulnerable. They are merely extra-sized corporations, and the size of a corporation cannot be made a ground of legal discrimination against it. The result has simply proved the truth of the doctrine of the nationalists that the trust represents a tendency toward consolidation and concentration in business which results from an economical necessity of the period, and must continue till it shall end either in a plutocratic industrial despotism or the nationalization of industry.

An Example All Cities Should Follow.

We hope that the account, in this number of The New Nation, of the assumption by the city of Toronto of the street-railway business, will be read with the attention it deserves. This idea of municipal management of local transit systems, as the only way of escape from the oppressions and extortions of the street-car companies, is rapidly coming to the front in this country. Already in many cities it is a burning issue, and is bound to be in all. Any reasonable man, if he will only stop to think, is certain to admit the absurdity of permitting a public service, on which the personal convenience and business prosperity of the entire community depends, to be subjected to private taxation, for the benefit of capitalists or corporations. Such a service should always be rendered at the lowest possible rate, that is to say, at cost, and the only way in which it can be so rendered is to have the municipality own and manage the business.

There are few, if any, cities large enough to support a street-car system at all, in which the change from private

management for the purpose of paying dividends on (usually) watered stock, and municipal management in the interest of the cheapest possible service, would not amount to a reduction of at least two cents on the prevailing present rate of fare, estimating the latter at an average of five cents. Why should not the people save this money by doing their own business for themselves, instead of paying corporations to tax them? Even if there were not this great direct gain to be made by this substitution of public for private management, there are few communities which would not find it an object merely for the sake of purifying their politics. It is notorious that street-car corporations, as a rule, represent in local politics the same corrupting influence which the great railroad systems exert in state and national Legislatures.

The Argument that Two Wrongs Make a Right.

The Boston Herald, commenting on the recent frequent suicides of business men, says:

A vivid realization of the severe pressure that business cares often are upon those engaged in them, and of the terrible mortification that comes from business failure, is had when instances are reported of men who commit suicide rather than face them. Such instances are, unfortunately, not infrequent. Yet some of these gentlemen who talk flippantly of the hardships of working nine hours a day seem seriously to believe that to conduct business operations is only fun.

We don't know what sort of people they are who underestimate the cares and anxieties of business men. Certainly nationalists do not. On the contrary, they argue that the present competitive system is, in the long run, about as bad for one class as another. If the poor man dies of want, the rich man dies of worry. If it is hard to get money, it is not less hard to keep it when gotten. But, while fully agreeing with the Herald that the anxieties of the business man are often as wearing as the ill-paid toil of the workingman, we do not see that this is any reason why the workingman should be contented with his own hardships. It would be a singular argument against repairing a dwelling that one room in it was as uncomfortable as another. Does the Herald mean, because it can match every suicide on account of want of work with another on account of business anxiety, that, therefore, there is no need of social reform? Instead of two wrongs making a right, they only make the case worse. It is in the interest not of one class against another, or of one more than another, but of all classes equally that nationalists call for a more rational and just industrial system, guaranteeing economical security to all upon the basis of equality.

A Philosopher Who Has Lived Too Long.

Herbert Spencer would have helped his reputation if he had died some years ago. The prominence which he has been of late assuming, as champion of the present industrial system, and determined opponent not merely of all plans to reform it but even to ameliorate it, is severely testing the respect of many of his former admirers.

Some time ago Mr. Spencer was induced to give a guarded indorsement to the work of the British Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. It was mighty little he could be prevailed on to say for it, and only amounted in fact to admitting that in some cases the society might possibly do good. He has since concluded that he went too far in making this concession, and permitted his heart to run

away with his head. He has accordingly made a public retraction of it through the press. He says:

It is surprising with what light hearts people are led to abrogate the order of nature and to substitute an order of their own devising. All life on the earth has risen to its present height under the system of parental obligation. The process has so worked that the best nurtured offspring of the best parents have survived and maintained the race, while offspring inadequately nurtured have failed to leave self-sufficing posterity. And now it has come to be thought that these strong, parental feelings, which in billions of creatures throughout millions of years have worked so beneficially, may, with advantage, be replaced by public sentiment working through state machinery. The replacing of parental responsibilities by social responsibilities will inevitably cause degradation and eventual extinction.

The court records of cases in which it intervened last year are published in connection with the report of the society, and form an interesting comment upon the vagaries of those "strong, parental feelings" to which Mr. Spencer would unreservedly entrust the welfare of children. During one year in England, these "parental feelings" took the forms, among others, of brutal blows and kicks, flogging with straps, pokers, ropes, boots, chairs, kettles and frying-pans, stabbing with forks and knives, rubbing mustard oil into wounds, and burning with hot irons.

Mr. Spencer is getting to be an old man. It is always lamentable to witness the decline of great mental powers from the effect of age, and the spectacle is doubly painful when the process of decay extends to the moral faculties, as it evidently has done in Mr. Spencer's case.

Massachusetts Farmers and the Old Parties.

The Boston Transcript informs its readers that the old parties in Massachusetts are agreed upon at least one thing, to wit: the new party. It says:

A good deal of the legislation this winter has been undertaken by the tacit co-operation of some men of both parties to prevent, by anticipation of its wants, the appearance of this third party. Fortunately, more has been undertaken than accomplished. The common sense of members, who could not be conjoined by the argument of expediency, prevented the enactment of all the farmers' scheme of taxation. Enough has been done, however, to demonstrate the power of the "farmers." Massachusetts farming cannot be revived by taking taxes off the farmers and putting it on the farmers' customers.

It would be difficult to cram more evidence of political stupidity into a paragraph of the above length. First is the admission that, by a tacit understanding of the republican and democratic leaders, a show of doing something for the farmers of Massachusetts this year was made. Second is the declaration that this was deliberately done to keep the Massachusetts farmers out of the new party. Third is the joyful assurance that the common sense of the Legislature is proof against the farmers' scheme of taxation, although enough has been done this year to demonstrate the power of the farmers.

Without spinning a fine thread, let us say that as much has been done for the Massachusetts farmer by the politicians as ever will be done until the farmers organize. The Transcript may not know it, but when it says that "Massachusetts farming cannot be revived by taking taxes off the farmers and putting it on the farmers' customers," it is saying something that will be resented. The unjust taxation of farm realty, in consequence of the systematic dodging of the burdens of state by opulent tax-dodgers, is fast becoming a scandal, and such cynical editorials as this of the Transcript

will simply hasten the day when the farmers of Massachusetts will rise, organize and sweep the old party leaders from the boards. The Transcript's word for it that neither party intends to make any real concession to the farmer will be passed round the state and be remembered.

No Vacation for Nationalists This Year.

The New Nation hopes that the habit of taking summer vacations will not be followed by the nationalist clubs this year. There is too much to do. If we care to impress our principles upon the platform to be adopted by the new party next February, the time between this and that is none too long for the educational work among the farmers and the labor organizations which has to be done. They are well disposed to our doctrine, and are bound to accept it as fast as they understand it; but we must get it before them. Let us remember that so good an opportunity for the sowing of the seed of the new nation in minds prepared for its reception, has never been offered us as is created by the relation of our movement to the new party. Now is the time for every nationalist, however great or little his gifts, to put in what propaganda work he can by print or speech. It does not follow that, because he is not an orator or a writer, he can not do good work. There is none better than is done by private conversation with individuals, as occasion serves.

Fire Losses and Nationalism.

One third of the total amount paid by fire insurance companies in this country is estimated to be paid upon fraudulent fires, set for the sake of obtaining the insurance upon goods or buildings. Another third could no doubt be safely set down to flimsy and imperfect building and finishing, owing to the pressure of competition and the motive under the present business system to do the cheapest and meanest work that will possibly pass muster; that is to say, two thirds of the annual fire loss of this country is owing to causes which nationalism would remove.

He Makes and Unmakes Cities

Mr. Gould's latest railroad move was as easy to him as rolling off a log. Thanks to the bounty of a generous public, Mr. Gould can do what most men cannot do in this country. By precipitating a short gold panic in December last, he flooded the market with railroad securities, dirt cheap, and then used the hoarded gold to buy such railroad securities as he wanted. It therefore happens that Mr. Gould, Mr. Inman and their confederates control the east and west railroad traffic of the south. The dispatchers announce that the transportation rates between St. Louis and New England, via Newport News, Va., and Savannah have been cut. The sea freight rate is cheaper than the rail, the southern roads are run upon a cheaper basis of expense than the northern roads. Mr. Gould thus has a lever by which he can make and unmake cities and roads too, at his sweet will.

Still a Mystery.

Postmaster-General Wanamaker went to Philadelphia, last week, to explain to the investigating committee that he did not withdraw his account from the defunct Keystone bank

in consequence of private information that it was rotten. It is still a mystery how these politicians who were depositors at that bank were moved as by common impulse to reduce their accounts, while the innocent public went right on trusting the bank. The national bank system is on trial at Philadelphia, and the country is watching it with keen interest.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The motto of nationalism: What is not good enough for me is not good enough for anybody; what is not good enough for my wife and children is not good enough for any man's wife and children.

The political republic must come before the social republic can come, and the Baccarat gambling scandal, which has so badly damaged the prestige of the prince of Wales, has helped socialism in England just so far as it has brought royalty into disrepute.

The postmaster-general's recent pamphlet on postal savings banks, which he strongly favors, for this country, states that they are established in Sweden, Great Britain, Austria, Belgium, Holland, France, Russia, Canada and Italy. In all these countries they are very popular. The Cape and the Australian colonies also have postal savings banks in successful operation.

The Chicago Tribune assumes that Leland Stanford is to be the new party candidate for president, and then covers itself with mortification at the thought of such a surrender to boodles.

Herbert Myrick, of Springfield, who has been championing the cause of agriculture for many years, announces a book in which he undertakes to show how the farmers can co-operate. It is a great subject, and if Mr. Myrick has a message the farmers are ready to listen.

The town of Braintree evidently intends to do its own lighting, at least the preliminary steps have been taken in the shape of a committee, of which T. A. Watson is chairman, to look into the matter. The selectmen, and indeed prominent citizens generally, favor town ownership.

A number of leading republicans met at the Tremont house, Boston, last week, to consider the party prospects in South Carolina. The result of their deliberations was the raising of a "considerable sum of money" to be used in that state. Bless them! do they not know that money is no longer a prevailing argument in politics?

Journal of the Knights of Labor: The New Nation (nationalist) is naturally pleased to note the fact that the Brooklyn bridge, built and owned by the cities of New York and Brooklyn, is to be made free to foot passengers, the trustees finding that the revenues from other sources are sufficient to pay all expenses. As our contemporary points out, had the bridge been owned by a corporation, instead of taking off the toll for foot passengers, the stock would have been watered and the tolls kept up. Score one for collectivism.

ANCIENT AND MODERN COMPETITION.

Gaze backward through the ages: long ago
 When men, complacent, smiled at human woe,
 In Rome's arena gladiators faced
 To fight and die to please the public taste.
 Th' unskilful fell beneath each fatal thrust,
 The hapless victims of a brutish lust;
 And, as the wounded, gasping deep for breath,
 Lay prostrate on that cold, hard bed of death,
 The crowd looked on, nor fancied 'twas a sin —
 The dying serfs were of a foreign kin!
 Prone to denounce our rude forefathers' ways,
 We read with horror of those barbarous days,
 Yet seldom startle at the polished crimes
 Committed now in more enlightened times.
 Ah, why conceal the facts? Are Christians good
 Because they sicken at the sight of blood?
 Are modes of much account? It seems to me
 A crime's a crime whate'er its form may be.
 The common weapons used in modern trade
 Are keener than the gladiator's blade,
 And Wealth's contempt to-day is less humane
 Than Pagans gloating on their captives slain.

JOHN T. BRODERICK.

Lynn, Mass.

TALKS ON NATIONALISM.

By the Editor.

Mr. Smith, who has joined the nationalists, has a talk with a neighbor about the reported invention of a flying-machine by Mr. Maxim.

N. — Did you read that account in the morning paper of the flying-machine Hiram Maxim, the great gun-maker, claims to have invented?

SMITH. — Yes, I saw it.

N. — This is a wonderful age! We seem to go faster and faster. Yesterday it was the steam-engine; to-day it is electricity; to-morrow, air navigation. Maybe Maxim has not succeeded so well as he claims; but if he has not, somebody presently will. More wits are now working at this problem than any other, except electricity, and on more hopeful lines than ever before. The idea of the flying-machine is in the air, and the machine itself will soon be.

SMITH. — No doubt you are right. Probably it would not be reckless to predict that a more or less complete method of air navigation will be in use before many years.

N. — I would give more for the fame of the inventor of the first successful flying-machine than for that of Christopher Columbus. It will be the biggest thing in human history, and the greatest single contribution to human welfare.

SMITH. — It will undoubtedly lead to the accumulation of some vast fortunes.

N. — I speak of the general benefits to the race.

SMITH. — I don't see where they would come in, as society is at present constituted.

N. — Why, man, by dispensing with roads and minimizing the need of motor power, air navigation would revolutionize transportation and abolish distance.

SMITH. — So did the steam-engine; but what has that done for society?

N. — It has multiplied many fold the world's wealth.

SMITH. — No doubt; but who has possession of that wealth? The steam-engine has brought in the millionaire and is fast developing the billionaire. Perhaps air navigation will prepare the way for the trillionaire. At any rate, you may be sure that under the present industrial system it will simply prove another and yet more efficient device for enabling the capitalists to exploit the labor of the masses and levy toll upon their necessities.

N. — Oh, come now, you are too pessimistic by half.

SMITH. — Well, see if I am. Let us look at the matter. I am not theorizing. The prediction that under the present industrial system the flying-machine would be no benefit to the masses is simply a plain deduction from history. It is about half a century since the steam-engine was generally applied to manufacturing and commerce. What is the result? As you say, there has been a prodigious increase in the world's wealth undoubtedly; but that wealth is in the hands of a few, and that few is constantly growing fewer, and their individual accumulations larger. It is the steam-engine which created and supports the plutocracy that to-day is strangling the republic. The sewing-machine was an invention with an evidently great potentiality for lightening the burdens of humanity, especially of women. It has enriched a number of individuals; but has it alleviated the condition of the masses? Go ask the victims of the sweat shops, and the sewing women of the great cities who work double hours for half a living. Within 10 years we have had the electric light and the telephone. They are wonderful inventions, truly, but what good have they done the people? Oppressive corporations, which are the tyrants of cities and states, have been based on them, but they have not by one jot or tittle relieved the misery of the world. The arc-light reveals scenes of squalor, misery and human degradation which the tallow candles of our fathers never witnessed.

N. — Then you think that it would have been better if all these inventions had never been made?

SMITH. — No; because the people are going to destroy the plutocracy and replace the present slave system of industry by a co-operative organization of it. If I did not believe this, I should certainly say that the steam-engine and all other inventions which tend to the more effective concentration and organization of industry were bad. If these devices are to render that organization more efficient, chiefly in the interest of a few, as now, they do but tend toward industrial tyranny worse than any ancient form of domination of man by man. Anarchy and carnage were better than that. But if they can be made, as we believe they can, by an industrial organization on the republican principle of a commonwealth, to promote the equal welfare of all, they

will become unmitigated blessings to the race. Suppose, for instance, when the steam-engine had been introduced, there had already existed the equal industrial partnership of the people which nationalism proposes. Not only then would the wealth it produced have been equally shared, but it would have produced tenfold more wealth to be divided, for, under the system of industry which we propose, there could never be panics, crises or "over-production," but the wheels of manufacture would whir with an ever-swelling song; and not till leisure seemed to the equal partners of more worth than greater luxury would their music slacken.

CHRISTIAN NATIONALISM.

[Arthur Chamberlain, of Boston, in the Andover Review for June.]

There is a current saying to the effect that every reform has three stages: first, it is said to be impossible; secondly, it is said to be contrary to the Bible; and thirdly, its opponents during both of these stages declare that they have always held the reformer's opinions.

It is evident from Miss Anna L. Dawes's article in the Andover Review for April, entitled "Mr. Bellamy and Christianity," that nationalism has reached its second stage. So far as Mr. Bellamy is personally concerned, he may be left to make his own explanation or defence. It is not with his individual views that the writer proposes to deal, but with the broader question, "Is nationalism opposed to Christianity?"—a question which Miss Dawes answers in the affirmative. It is true that she has identified Mr. Bellamy with nationalism, apparently without reflecting that the cause is apt to be larger than the outlook of its most zealous advocates.

Now, since there are those who claim that nationalism is working squarely upon Christian lines, it may be well to consider why this latter view seems tenable, and, if so, what are some of the mistakes into which the writer of "Mr. Bellamy and Christianity" has fallen. Her argument seems to be this: Nationalism holds that better material conditions are aids to moral progress. Better material conditions mean happiness; therefore, nationalism holds that happiness is essential to moral progress.

It does not seem to the writer that the above argument is altogether sound; if it is, the case of nationalism is not worth pleading. But do better material conditions necessarily involve happiness? They make happiness probable in a majority of cases, but that is a very different thing from saying that they insure it. And, granting for the sake of the argument that they do, is it logical to say that, because nationalism asserts them to be aids to moral progress, that it also declares that either they are essential or the happiness which is their outcome is essential to moral progress? It is not only hazardous to hold that material well-being is necessarily productive of spiritual well-being,—it is impossible. Theory and practice both prove that such a position is untenable.

Miss Dawes also declares that "the fundamental question for us is,—What is the best environment for developing moral strength?" She objects to any scheme which makes goodness unavoidable by excluding all possibility of choosing evil,—and well she may. Her anxiety on this point is unnecessary, however. So long as any creature possesses freedom of the will there will always be the possibility of choice, and no exterior surroundings will make the choice of goodness irresistible. It is written that Satan fell from heaven.

Assuming for the sake of the argument that the development of moral strength is the end to be sought, it is easy to see that the mere existence of obstacles to be overcome is not the means of reaching it. We do, indeed, press the

earth firmly about the roots of a plant, but we do not pound it down as though we were laying a street pavement, much less do we cover it with concrete. We do not refuse a child his proper school-books as a means of encouraging in him a desire for knowledge. We do not expose young people to all the temptations of life (it may be feared that we do expose them far too much for their own good here in America) in order that they may become morally strong. Briefly, it is possible that obstacles, in place of being incentives to effort, may crush out the capacity of development, or seriously arrest it, at least.

But here one may join issue with Miss Dawes. Is "What is the best environment for developing moral strength?" our "fundamental question?" Is it not, rather, What is the best environment for developing goodness? For, after all, strength—physical, mental, or moral—is a means rather than an end. The pursuit of physical strength as an end defeats itself; professional athletes are seldom long-lived or well-rounded men. Mental strength which exults in its own prowess is apt to run into mere logic-chopping. Moral strength, cultivated for its own sake, has often an outcome in the Pharisee who thanks God that he is not as other men are.

Those who oppose nationalism on the ground that the present social condition is, by reason of its deprivations, a blessing, since these deprivations are a help to spiritual living, ought to understand that the exact opposite of a false proposition is by no means certain to be the true one, though it is a favorite argumentative short-cut to assume this to be the case. Because better material conditions, whether they involve happiness or not, do not insure moral progress, it does not follow that obstacles to material progress are blessings. These opponents of nationalism would shrink from proclaiming asceticism as the cure-all for the ills of society, and yet asceticism is the logical outcome of their premises.

If we leave methods and look only at results, what do we find to be the result of asceticism? What we do not find is that social state which the word "civilization" suggests to our minds. St. Simeon Stylites on his pillar is not on a par with the North American Indian of the 16th century, so far as the comforts of civilization are concerned; nor is his spiritual ideal much higher. His

Thrice ten years,
Thrice multiplied by superhuman pangs,

seem to us not so much the outcome of the "glad tidings" of Christianity as of the pagan idea that the gods are appeased by voluntary human suffering, per se. And just here we may venture to point out the difference between suffering for a selfish aim—which is asceticism—and suffering in the performance of duty, which is self-sacrifice. "The world's saints, from Moses onward," have been those who never flinched from their duty, cost what it might,—not those who have chosen suffering for the sake of some extraordinary supposititious benefit to themselves. It is Buddha's yearning to help the world (not to take for the mere purposes of illustration the supreme sacrifice) that gives his renunciation of all that men hold most dear its power to thrill us with a sense of dignity and pathos, while our pity is largely mingled with contempt for those Yogis whom he meets, who

Stake brief agonies in game with gods
To gain the larger joys.

On the other hand, the social reformers of Rousseau's school (who were certainly not ascetics) preached a return to nature as the cure for the evils of society, and we know to what that doctrine leads in the average man. At best, it is a flight to some enchanted island where—the social problem being reduced to its lowest terms—a select community can live in a selfish seclusion from the world at large; a result which is simply a begging of the question. At its worst, it substitutes instinct, appetite and passion for reason

and self-control, and here, so far as results are concerned, the extremes of asceticism and self-indulgence meet. Civilization, which always involves co-operation, is impossible to either. The great brotherhood of man breaks up into small and selfish coteries, which are much more anxious to achieve their personal ends than they are to bring in the kingdom of God here upon earth. Unquestionably, "the kingdom of God is within you," but is it not one of the certainties of life that what is within a man will—yes, must—make itself felt upon the things which surround him? Does this exclude the other proposition,—that the character of the things about a man will influence him for good or evil? There is no need of argument: we know that there is truth in both propositions.

It would seem, however, that those who oppose nationalism on the ground that it will make life too easy for the moral welfare of humanity have dwelt so much upon the first of the foregoing propositions that they have not given the latter its due weight. "It is the law of physical evolution," Miss Dawes declares, "that the strongest survive and the weak disappear. This is the law of social evolution also." The objection to this statement is that it does not cover the facts of the case, since it takes no cognizance of the possible difference in environment. A delicate plant, placed in good soil and properly watered and cared for, will live and flourish, while a much stronger plant will dwindle and die if set out in the sand under a burning sun.

The law of physical evolution is not the survival of the strongest, but the survival of the fittest. This is "the law of social evolution" as well,—yes, of all evolution: physical, social, or spiritual. The world's history is full of that great teaching, that the lower is fulfilled in the higher. It is the glory of Christianity that she takes all of the good that ever existed in the past, and carries it on to greater perfection. She is the most vital of all seeds,—yes! But she is also the most fitting medium for the fullest expression of all that is best in humanity; and the more fully that best is developed, the higher grows the ideal. Her progress is the progress of true freedom, of the liberty which is not license. She looked upon Judaism, and the ceremonial of the law passed away, while all that was most useful to man's spiritual nature—the conception of an all-holy God—was quickened into a new meaning under her gaze. Once again, in the 16th century, she broke the bonds of ecclesiasticism when they had ceased to be needed as a protection from the heathen round about her, and fulfilled the old order in the conception of the direct communion between every man and his Maker. In the 18th century, the consolidation of political power in the hands of a few, which had done its work in bringing about a rough form of political union, gave place to the loftier conception—which was, in reality, an outcome of man's spiritual emancipation—of a state in which the rulers should be the people; and social union, in theory at least, became possible.

Man, under the guidance of Christianity, has freed himself from ecclesiastical and political tyranny; he looks forward to the time when he shall be free from industrial tyranny as well. This is the message of nationalism. Is it not on Christian lines? Nationalism does not claim to be an improvement upon Christianity, as some of its opponents seem to imagine. Christianity is her own fulfilment; she contains the alpha and omega of human progress. But nationalism does hold that a proper environment is a help even to Christianity; and it holds that loathsome tenement-houses, wretched food, starvation wages,—all, in fact, which make it probable that a man or woman must seek diversion in the gratification of the lower nature, since they are effectually barred out from what decent people mean by happiness, to say nothing of holiness,—does not give that environment which is best adapted for the welfare, physical, social, or spiritual, of mankind.

It is the American idea, as it is the nationalistic, that opportunity and not obstacle is the key to improvement. In

theory, at least, every man has a right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." We have not as yet abandoned the principles of the Declaration of Independence. There are hospitals for the sick. There is relief for the poor, and, better than any mere dole, there is the beginning, at least, of an industrial education which shall aid the poor to help themselves. There is the system of free schools; that no boy nor girl may be under disadvantage in making the most of inborn talents. Our prisons are no longer regarded as cages for the confinement of criminals; they are viewed more and more as reformatories.

Here we touch upon a new motive,—new in its direct applications but as old as Christianity in its conception,—which has its source in the feeling that it is not for the sake of some abstract thing called "society" that all this is done. That the individual existed for the state was the sentiment in ancient Rome; and we can see into what errors in practice this theory led. So far as the state is concerned, it might be well enough if the feeble and vicious should die, and, as Scrooge remarked, "decrease the surplus population." The feeble were permitted—one might say encouraged—to die in ancient Rome, and infanticide was one of the methods. Vice was sternly repressed under the republic, it flourished under the Empire; the question of reformation did not enter into its consideration to any extent under either. Christianity proclaimed the right of the individual to protection and reformation. Society was considered as existing for the sake of the individuals who composed it. Cain's question was answered in the affirmative; each man was, and is, his brother's keeper.

As protestantism was the Christian protest against spiritual slavery; as democracy was the Christian protest against political slavery, so nationalism is the Christian protest against industrial slavery. It works on the same lines with Christianity, and makes the same assertions.

AN APPEAL TO CHRISTIANS.

[From a sermon by Eugene Bersier.]

"My brethren, if you are Christians, there is in your eyes a minimum to which every man has a right; it is the power to live without injury to his immortal soul. And I declare, having weighed my words before God, that there are conditions in which that is impossible, short of a miracle. There is a degree of misery in which all sense of self-respect is irrevocably lost; there is a promiscuous mixing up of the sexes in our manufactories that kills modesty and taints the soul; there is in the manner in which our children are condemned to work, as if in the tread-mill, an absolute obstacle to their moral development; there is in Sunday servitude the death of all faith and all religion. Ah! my brethren, there is something even more importunate than our poor words, the misery that surrounds us, which we have not the right ever to forget. How eloquent would be our words if our love could rise to the heights of the degradation and suffering of which this city alone is the constant scene."

THE SOCRATIC METHOD TOO MUCH FOR IT.

The New Bedford Mercury: Under the caption "A Tragedy that Wealth is Responsible For," The New Nation, Mr. Bellamy's paper, discusses the Barnaby poisoning case. It asks who would say that Mrs. Barnaby would not be alive to-day, if nationalism were the rule of society. Nobody, probably; and who would say she would not be alive to-day, if theosophy were the rule of society? The same question might be asked of any other man-made issue which it ever entered into the heart of a human being to conceive, and nobody could say certainly that Mrs. Barnaby would have come to her tragic death under its workings, for the very good reason that nobody would certainly know. The Socratic method of argument is very effective, but like all other methods it has its limitations.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP ON TRIAL.

TORONTO DISLODGES AN INTOLERABLE MONOPOLY.

A Review of the Struggle which Nationalists and Labor Men Precipitated, and which has Opened the Door for Further Reforms.

The experiment of Toronto as an owner of its street railways is attracting wide attention in this country. Many inquiries are being received by The New Nation concerning the situation in Toronto, and we think it profitable to surrender sufficient space in this issue to review in brief the steps that led up to the new departure by this progressive Dominion city.

The Toronto street railway was granted a 30 years' charter which expired last March. The franchise act was loosely drawn, under which the company enjoyed the privilege of using the streets without making any sort of return to the city beyond the stipulation that the pavements covered by the tracks should be kept in repair by the company. The growth of the city rendered the franchise of enormous value, as will be seen from this table, showing the gross and net receipts for the last seven years:

	Net Receipts.	Gross Receipts.
1884.....	\$100,959.34	\$287,109.54
1885.....	123,580.79	344,881.47
1886.....	137,117.13	401,332.34
1887.....	171,532.89	481,391.53
1888.....	179,151.63	577,575.45
1889.....	204,071.28	659,140.39
1890.....	242,983.42	740,129.80

Thus, in seven years the net revenue more than doubled, and the gross receipts a good deal more than doubled. As the time for the expiration of the charter approached, a strong agitation was set on foot by the labor organizations for the taking over of the road by the city. At first, nobody dreamed of the possibility of the city operating the road as a civic enterprise. The movement simply aimed at taking it out of the hands of a monopoly and re-letting to some other corporation on terms more favorable to the public, with some security for the decent treatment of the employees as regards hours and wages. The first stimulus to the movement was given by a lockout of the men a few years ago, the company objecting to the employees organizing in connection with the Knights of Labor. It was a long and bitter fight, the street-railway men being sustained by the other labor organizations, but it resulted in the complete defeat of the employees. At that time, the men were compelled to work for about 14 hours a day at subsistence wages.

The attention of the labor reformers of the city was then directed toward municipal action, in view of the expiry of the charter in 1891, and public meetings were held to advocate the taking over of the road by the city, with a view of re-letting it. The question was submitted to a popular vote, a large majority deciding in favor of buying out the company, as provided for by the charter, by paying them the value of their improvements.

A year ago, a branch of the Nationalist association was organized, which, though few in numbers, includes some good active workers in close alliance with the labor organizations. Recognizing that the street-railway question was the most important one before the people on which our action could have an immediate practical effect, the nationalists took part in the agitation, and gave it a new direction by urging that the city conduct the railway not for profit but for public convenience. The nationalists held public meetings, wrote numerous letters to the press, sent deputations to the city council and used every means to influence public opinion. The more it was discussed, the more it grew in public favor. Were it not for the great bugbear of aldermanic corruption and incompetency, the popular support of the project would be more pronounced.

However, the first step, that of ousting the original monopoly, has been taken. The company was awarded \$1,453,-

788, as the actual value of its property. It was claimed that the company's franchise was perpetual, and the corporation contested the right of the city to take the property. On May 16, when the city officials came to take possession, they found the railway buildings locked, and the matter went to the courts, by whose decree the city carried its point and came into possession of the railway property. The claim of the company for further compensation has, by agreement, been submitted to the courts.

The agitation of the labor organizations and nationalists resulted in stipulations being inserted in the proposals for leasing the railway, binding any company taking over the road not to work its men more than 60 hours a week, or to pay them less than 15 cents an hour; also, to sell tickets for certain hours of the morning and evening, when the cars are mainly used by people going to and returning from work, at the rate of eight for 25 cents, the general rate being six for 25 cents. Owing to these and other restrictions, the first batch of tenders did not offer terms which were considered satisfactory. So it was decided that the city must temporarily, at least, operate the road. So that, when possession was finally gained on the 20th of May, the city simply retained the company's old manager, who continues to operate the road just as before, turning over the receipts to the city treasury every evening. A committee of the city council has general control, but public opinion is strongly against aldermanic interference with the details of management. The men are now working on the 10-hour basis, with a minimum rate of wages of 15 cents per hour, all overtime being paid for. Fresh tenders have been called for, which are now before the council as follows:

After it became evident that the city was in earnest in this business, three very favorable tenders have been submitted to the council, showing that capitalists are alive to the immense value of the franchise. Some offer as high as 85 per cent of net profits for the privilege.

Phillips Thompson, editor of the Labor Advocate, Toronto, who has kindly furnished the facts above stated, says, in a private communication: "How the question will be settled it is impossible to predict. There is a large and growing section in the council which favor the city continuing to manage the road as an experiment at least. The advance in the terms offered make them unwilling to conclude too hasty a bargain. We have felt all along that if we can only secure delay, and prevent a deal being suddenly concluded, the people will come round to our way of thinking, as the feeling in favor of civic management is growing every day. But where there is so much money involved there is no knowing what sudden turn things may take, or what corrupt influences may be brought to bear upon the council. However, we feel that, even if we lose the fight for civic management this time, we have gained a great deal already in securing more favorable terms for the public, both as regards reduction of fares and a share in the profits as well as reasonable treatment of the employees."

THE MUNICIPAL GAS QUESTION.

In answer to inquiries from parties in Cleveland, O., in regard to construction of gas plants, Fred Bredel, gas engineer and contractor, gave the following figures: New gas-works, for making 75,000 cubic feet per 15 hours, will cost \$55,000 (price for lot not included), and the cost for making this quantity is as follows:

7½ tons of coal	\$22 50
Labor of 3 men	7 50
Interest for one day on \$55,000 at 6 per cent	9 41
Repairs (\$400 per year)	1 10
Total	\$40 51
Receipts for residuals, 15,000 lbs. coal leave for sale 7,800	
lbs. of coke, or 3 90 tons, equal	13 65
15,000 lbs. coal yield 82½ gallons of tar	8 25
15,000 lbs. coal yield 22½ gallons ammonia water	90
Total receipts for residuals	\$22 80

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY IN THE FIELD.

New Party Mutterings in Maryland.

The legislative committee of the Maryland State Farmers' Alliance met at Baltimore last week. Arrangements for the coming state election were entrusted to a committee of five. Resolutions were adopted urging the county Alliances to demand of the old parties the privilege of naming their candidates for the Legislature and, if thought essential, the naming of the candidates for the Levy court and county commissioners. Preliminary to making these demands, the county Alliances were instructed to apprise the party managers of the fact that the Alliance men of the state were pledged to defeat the parties that acted in opposition to or in violation of these demands. The St. Louis and Ocala platforms were endorsed and resolutions, adopted by a joint conference of the Knights of Labor and Alliance men of the state on April 29 last, were accepted by the committee. Among the resolutions adopted was one favoring municipal, state and national control of railroads, public roads and gas and electric-light plants.

Discontent a Political Motive Power.

New York World: A morning newspaper refers contemptuously to the men assembling in Cincinnati as "the delegates of the discontented." Every man of honest mind is discontented with wrong, injustice and oppression, and is at war with those things, whether on his own account or in behalf of his fellow-men. Discontent is the motive power of human progress. It has accomplished the overthrow of despotic power and the emancipation of the people so far as those ends are accomplished. It alone can complete that work. It sometimes errs in its objects and methods, but it would be the saddest of all days for humankind on which discontent should be eliminated from the list of active forces, or the "delegates of the discontented" should be made to hold their peace.

An Odd Sort of a Failure.

Milwaukee News: The people's party is getting lots of hot shot from the old party organs. They all declare the movement is destined to be a failure. For a thing sure to be a failure the organs are wasting much powder on it.

The National Committee Meets at St. Louis on the 13th.

Robert Schilling, secretary of the national committee of the people's party, has called a meeting of the committee at St. Louis on the 13th. Many matters of detail will be considered at the meeting, and the attendance will be full.

This "Inarticulate Murmur of Dissatisfaction" May Break All the States.

Harper's Weekly: The proceedings at the Cincinnati conference were a protest against existing parties. Despite the talking and the shouting, they were what Carlyle used to call an inarticulate murmur of dissatisfaction. The farmers are supposed to be the real support of the new party. But the party assumes to deal with the most complex and intricate of financial problems, and the farmers as a class are least familiar with such questions. Yet a discontent which goes so far will go farther. If the new party should organize throughout the country, its candidates would undoubtedly receive votes enough in some states to perplex all calculations of the old parties, and perhaps throw the election into the House of Representatives.

The People's Party in Iowa May Pull Down the Republican Structure.

Springfield Republican: The new people's party is the first in the field in Iowa with a state ticket to be voted for at the November election. The man nominated at Wednesday's convention at Des Moines was A. J. Westfall, whose political arsenal, besides including the Cincinnati platform entire, also makes room for stiff prohibition and woman suffrage principles.

He will be defeated by a good big majority, but he may pull down with him the republican party of Iowa.

The People's Party in Luck.

New York Tribune: The new party has failed to command the confidence of "The New York Sun."

The New Party Organizes in Iowa.

The people's party convention, at Des Moines, last week, was largely attended. The Cincinnati platform was ratified, and a state ticket put in the field. A. J. Westfall, an old republican, was nominated for governor, and Walter Scott another old republican, for lieutenant-governor. Westfall was a third party nominee for Congress in the 11th district, last autumn and made a tremendous canvass, visiting all the farms he could, beginning at daybreak and not stopping until the rural population had retired for the night. He is not much of a talker, but a tireless worker. His work in the 11th district proved disastrous to the democrats. He drew nearly 5,000 farmer's votes, which resulted in the election of the republican by 800 plurality. Mr. Scott is a labor advocate, and is popular among the miners of the state.

The North Carolina Farmers Waking Up.

A despatch from Charlotte to the Boston Herald contains this passage: The third party has many supporters in this state, and all of its members are from the democratic ranks. This means an unmistakable split. Democrats outside of the alliance see this very plainly, but are entirely powerless to check the state of affairs. If there is not a revolution in public sentiment before the election, it can be stated, without fear of contradiction, that the people's party will carry North Carolina.

People's Party Campaign Notes.

The Central Labor federation, of New York City, Brooklyn and Jersey City, has resolved to take independent political action next autumn.

If there is not a revolution in public sentiment before election, — so says a dispatch to the Boston Herald, — it can be stated without fear of contradiction that the people's party will carry North Carolina.

Ignatius Donnelly says that Minnesota is certainly falling into line. The new party will make a record in that state.

"I think New Hampshire will make a good showing for the people's party in 1892," writes a prominent citizen of Manchester.

Milwaukee has jumped into the new party with both feet.

No less than 50,000 voters have joined the Farmers' Alliance in Kansas since the November elections.

Gen. Weaver says that he is not surprised at the suddenness of action at Cincinnati. He preferred to wait until February, "but it is all right as it is, as we can undoubtedly harmonize."

James Sovereign, state labor commissioner of Iowa: "I am perfectly satisfied with the platform."

Senator W. A. Peffer: "The conference did exactly what I wanted it to do, although, perhaps, I might have advised a little different method. They have only made the beginning, and I think it is so understood. They will go to the convention in 1892 to finish it. It is a platform that satisfies the conservatives as well as the radicals."

Terence V. Powderly: "I am perfectly satisfied with the result of the conference. I was only afraid they would go farther in the matter. I am delighted to see them stop where they did. I was afraid they would ignore the 1892 conference, but as long as they acted toward it as they did I feel satisfied. The chances for a third party will be better

in 1892 than ever before, and they will poll a large vote. This for the simple reason that the masses are better informed than ever before. The masses of the Knights of Labor will endorse the platform adopted to-day, though the organization, as such, does not do so."

"The manufacture of new parties," observes the New York Tribune, "is not one of those industries which have been efficiently protected during the last years. On the contrary, the republican policy of protection has rendered the soil remarkably hard and stony for seed of that kind." That is the way the old whigs and democrats talked when the founder of the Tribune and others started the republican party 40 years ago, more or less.

Judge B. L. D. Guffy, the people's party candidate for attorney-general on the Kentucky state ticket, was a presidential elector from Kentucky on the republican ticket in 1868, and spoke for Grant and Colfax. As a lawyer, judge and a public man, he has gained a good name in Kentucky, and his name lends strength to the new-party in Kentucky.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE BREAKFAST TABLE.

The oatmeal trust—headquarters at Akron, O., capitalization \$5,500,000—has 14 constituent companies. This embraces substantially all the oatmeal mills of the land. The American people consume annually about 200 million pounds of oatmeal, and the American mills export to England and Scotland above 25 million pounds. Listen to what the Boston Advertiser says of this gigantic combination: "The trend of corporate power is unfortunately toward combination and when necessities of life are controlled by trusts and similar organizations, they are not only open to criticism, but, as has been recently demonstrated in this country, they are deserving of condemnation, unless ample proof be presented of a good object to be subserved by any combination of manufacturers. With absolutely free entry into this country of foreign oatmeal, our English and Scotch cousins could no more compete with our oatmeal millers than the Newcastle colliers now can with our Pennsylvania producers of anthracite coal. The price of best oatmeal has recently dropped 75 cents per barrel, but, under the influence of the combination, prices remain firm, with a naturally upward tendency. How long the new organization will last is a question difficult to answer, but that its influence will be felt upon the market is undoubtedly an assured fact, and while we await verification of the claim of the incorporators of the combination that under its operation prices will be lowered, we are free to confess a strong belief that exactly opposite results will accrue."

A PARTY PAPER IS WATCHING TORONTO.

New York Tribune: A first step in the direction of state socialism has been made at Toronto, where the municipality has bought out the street-car corporations and proposes to operate the lines. Canadian local politics have never assumed the peculiar features that distinguish them in this country, and it is just possible that the new experiment may escape failure through machine corruption. But it will be instructive to watch the attitude of the Toronto citizens under this novel attempt at state paternalism.

HOW THE GOVERNMENT COULD SECURE THE RAILROADS.

Dr. John Davis, of Junction City, Kan.: In every case where a railroad has passed temporarily from the hands of the corporations into the hands of the government, the government management, in the form of a receivership, has proved the more simple, economic and satisfactory. Now, should the entire corporate capitalization of the American railroads be removed by equitable cancellation and payment, as here described, \$400,000,000 per annum of

present expenses, now paid on stocks and bonds, would be saved to the people. One half of this incomprehensible sum could remain in the hands of the people through lower freights and fares, and the other half could be spent on the workingmen who operate the roads, giving them shorter hours and better pay. At least 50 per cent should be added to the present number of men now employed on the railroads, and their pay should enable even the lowest-paid man to live comfortably, to dress his children fit for school and himself and wife for church, and to lay up something for sickness and old age.

DISSOLVING VIEWS PROMISED IN CALIFORNIA.

The people's party ought to make headway in California, where the political atmosphere has become so vicious. A despatch from San Francisco says: George Faylor, ex-sergeant-at-arms of the Senate, and member of the third house, has brought suit against 24 members of the Senate to recover \$6,000, alleging that they all formed a combination, or copartnership to do business with persons and corporations whose interests might be affected by legislation, and that they engaged him to conduct the negotiations. A bill of particulars having been demanded, Faylor files one in court. The items are: \$387.50 for board in Sacramento; \$100 for railway fares; \$203 for treating; \$46.75 for hack hire; \$5,262.75 for "carrying messages and arranging appointments for the discussion of affairs of the copartnership by persons interested therein, by and through the committee of three, through whom the combination did business." Faylor, becoming more explicit, says, in the document filed, that the combine did business on a cash basis and kept no books of account, but for the information of the defendants he states that other persons kept record of such transactions, and that, at the proper time, he will furnish further particulars by subpoenaing the books, papers and officers of the Southern Pacific Railroad company, the insurance companies, the bookmakers and pool sellers, the board of Pilots, the Glenn and Riverside county divisionists, and the electrical street-railway franchise owners, all of whom paid money either to promote or defeat legislation.

HOW A FEW MEN ARE COINING MONEY OUT OF A TRUST.

New York Times: There is a growing belief in the idea that the managers of the sugar trust are short of their own stock and anxious to create the impression that no dividend will be paid, their purpose being to shake out stockholders who know that the property is making money and can more than pay the dividend which is due. The sugar company's refining profits can be pretty easily reckoned, for, of the 3,000,000,000 pounds of raw sugar refined during the year the trust combine refines at least 2,400,000,000 pounds, or 200,000,000 pounds per month. Paying no attention to the surplus which the trust has in its treasury, according to the more or less valuable affidavits of the trust's own managers, on current business (taking the official estimate of one half cent per pound as net profit upon each pound refined) the trust is making at least \$1,000,000 per month. In the face of such a showing, it seems hardly possible that even sugar trust magnates would presume to so far toy with public feeling and the patience of stockholders as to conspire to keep locked up and hidden in the treasury profits which belong to their stockholders.

AGGRESSIONS OF A RAILROAD CORPORATION.

Boston Advertiser: The talk is renewed that the Boston & Maine road is determined to build its own line between Manchester and Concord, N. H., connecting its northern and southern systems, between which a connection is now only had over the Concord railroad tracks. The distance is but 18 miles. It is this plan, it is said, which causes the

dead-lock between Gov. Tuttle and his council over the selection of a railroad commissioner. Gov. Tuttle has nominated Col. Thos. Cogswell, friendly to the Concord road, while his council, of both parties agrees to E. B. S. Sanborn, supposed to lean towards the Maine side. If the Maine people desire, they may at any time call upon the commissioner to grant a location for the extension, and while its decision may be appealed from, it would doubtless have weight with the supreme court, where the final appeal rests. In the belief that such a step is in the minds of the managers of the Maine, the Concord people are anxious to have a democratic representative on the railroad commission, and, as they are supposed to have greater influence with the governor, while the Maine's friends are in the council, the suggestion is patent that a dead-lock is sure. It is a straw, but it looks to aggressive movements on the part of the Maine to make its control of northern New England complete.

OUR BANKING SYSTEM UNDER FIRE.

Congressman Walker, of Worcester, in an address before the Springfield board of trade last week, said he thought this country had a more extravagant and unreasonable banking system than any other first-rate nation. It costs the people \$40,000,000 more per year for banking facilities and the money they use than it should cost them, or than it costs the people of Germany, France or England. The whole system, as to reserve, is faulty. A reserve which cannot be touched without violating the law might as well be thrown into the sea.

THE FARMERS PAY THEIR DEBTS.

Boston Herald: It is probable that there has been very much more talking than acting in this way in Kansas and other parts of the west, and that many of those who have raised their voices against the eastern money lenders have none the less paid interest upon their mortgages with reasonable punctuality. Even in the case of bankrupt companies, it has happened that the losses have been incurred upon city property, mortgaged during a boom period, rather than upon farming land.

THE EXTERMINATION OF A RACE.

One of the Items Chargeable Against the Competitive System.

A striking object lesson of the barbarous results of our present business and commercial system, of which individual greed without regard to the common welfare or future interests of the race is the ruling motive, is presented by the report of Sheldon Jackson, United States general agent of education for Alaska, upon the wholesale starvation of the Eskimo of Alaska, as the result of the reckless extermination of their food supply. The report says: From time immemorial, the Eskimo of Arctic Alaska have lived upon the whale, the walrus and the seal of their coasts, and the caribou or wild reindeer of their vast inland plains. But fifty years ago American whalers, having largely exhausted the supply in other waters, found their way to the North Pacific Ocean. Then commenced, for that section, the slaughter and destruction of whales, until they were destroyed and driven out of the Pacific Ocean. The whales took refuge among the ice fields of the Arctic Ocean, and thither the whalers followed. In this relentless hunt, the remnant have been driven still farther into the inaccessible regions around the north pole, and are no longer within reach of the natives. With the destruction of the whale, one large source of food supply for the natives has been cut off.

Another large supply was derived from the walrus, which once swarmed in great numbers in those northern seas. But commerce wanted more ivory, and the whalers turned their attention to the walrus, destroying thousands annually for

the sake of their tusks. Where a few years ago they were so numerous that their bellowings were heard above the roar of the waves and grinding and crashing of the ice fields, this year I cruised for weeks without seeing or hearing one. The walrus, as a source of food supply, and the seal and sea-lion, the skins of which served for clothing, are already practically extinct.

With the advent of improved breech-loading fire-arms, the wild reindeer are both being killed off and frightened away to the remote and more inaccessible regions of the interior, and another source of food supply is diminishing.

Thus the support of the people is largely gone, and the process of slow starvation and extermination has commenced along the whole Arctic coast of Alaska. Villages that once numbered thousands have been reduced to hundreds—of some tribes but two or three families remain. At Point Barrow, in 1828, Capt. Beechey's expedition found Nuwuk a village of 1,000 people; in 1863 there were 309; now there are not over 100. In 1816, Capt. Beechey speaks of finding a large population at Cape Franklin; to-day it is without an inhabitant. He also mentions a large village of 1,000 to 2,000 people on Schismareff Inlet; it has now but three houses.

Not to go into further details, the population will have died out within a few years unless the United States government establishes a supply system.

CONSIDERING COTTON AS CURRENCY.

[From the Springfield Republican.]

The advocates of a currency based on silver, whether under the present law or under free coinage, are accused of inconsistency by some of the defenders of the Ocala platform in so far as they refuse to approve a currency based on crops and land. There is something in this charge, for in many respects there is a decided similarity in the propositions to take one merchantable commodity—silver—and base a paper currency upon it or make it current as money, and to take equally valuable commodities, such as land and crops, and base a currency upon them. If silver can be stored up in the treasury of the United States, and legal-tender certificates can be issued against it, why can not cotton or corn be stored up, or title-deeds to land, and legal-tenders be issued against them as well? Silver is to-day nothing more or less than a merchantable commodity, the product of capital and industry; it is more rare and more difficult to obtain than copper, but less so than many other metals, and is yearly becoming more plentiful, and has only the fact that it has always been used as a money metal to further separate it from most of the products of the mines. It is not alone in this distinction among the baser metals, for copper or bronze has been used as money at least as long as silver; so that, aside from the difference in value in gold of a given bulk of copper or silver, the traditional argument is as strongly in favor of a copper currency, as a silver one.

The sub-treasury men argue that cotton or corn is just as good a basis for a currency as silver; they have value that varies, as the value of silver does, according to the supply and demand, and they are divisible into units of greater or less value, as silver is, for purposes of circulation. Cotton was used in this way as currency in the early days of the war in the South, and could be again. It was bulky, it is true, and inconvenient to handle in quantities representing large values. But so is silver; and it would be entirely practicable to do with cotton as it is proposed to do with silver,—arbitrarily stamp a fixed quantity of it with a definite value, and make it a legal tender for the same. What would be better and more convenient to carry than either cotton or silver would be a paper currency redeemable in cotton, as our silver certificates are now redeemable in silver. As to the volume of this cotton currency, it could be regulated by fixing the number of pounds of cotton in a

dollar as the number of grains of silver is fixed, either arbitrarily or relatively to the gold standard—there need be no trouble upon this point, for a cotton currency could be made as elastic as a silver currency—especially if only United States cotton should be monetized.

The credit element would enter into this cotton currency about as it would into a silver currency, if we should embark alone in the experiment of free coinage. We are obliged to measure by the gold standard, whether we monetize the commodity silver or the commodity cotton, because gold is the standard of the world, and its function as such has never been disputed; therefore, if we put a gold dollar's worth of cotton or silver into a dollar, our currency will be at par of itself, while, if we put 75 or 80 cents' worth of silver, as now, or of cotton, the credit of the country must be relied on to make up the difference. The parallel could be carried so as to cover all the arguments (except the "dollar of our daddies" argument) for the monetization of silver, and they can be shown to apply practically as well to the commodity cotton as to the commodity silver, for it must be remembered that we are taking the situation as it is, with silver simply a merchantable product.

The argument does not apply as well to land, for land is not easily divisible and transferable from hand to hand; but, aside from this, land is, on the whole, a better basis for a currency than silver, as being more stable in value. The charge of inconsistency against those free silver advocates who reject the Stanford scheme will not lie, therefore, but it has considerable force as against those who condemn the sub-treasury scheme and defend free silver coinage, and especially against defenders of the present silver law.

A SOCIALISTIC COMMONWEALTH.

Sir Charles Dilke, in the June Forum: The Australians are state socialists, and although their new constitution proposes to recognize the independence of the states in a far higher degree than that in which it has been allowed to exist in Canada, yet it vests the virtual control of the whole railway system of Australia in the federal power, which will be a shock to your American minds, whether north or south of the Canadian border line. . . . The great majority of Australians have confidence in the power of the state to do much for the people, and in the wisdom of its exercising this power. You in the United States, the Canadians across their border, the continental governments, are far behind even old England in this respect, and it would be of advantage to the world that Australia, which is much before us all, should have the opportunity of putting its doctrines into practice upon the largest scale.

NINETY AND NINE.

There are ninety and nine that work and die
In want and hunger and cold,
That one may live in luxury,
And be lapped in its silken fold;
And ninety and nine in their hovels bare,
And one in a palace with riches rare.

From the sweat of their brow the desert blooms,
The forest before them falls;
Their labor has builded humble homes,
And cities with lofty halls;
And the one owns cities and homes and lands,
And the ninety and nine have empty hands.

But the night so dreary and dark and long,
At last shall the morning bring;
And ever the victor's song
Of the ninety and nine shall ring,
And echo afar from zone to zone:
Rejoice! For labor shall have its own.

SAMUEL F. BEERS.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM.

First, That in view of the great social, industrial and economical revolutions now dawning on the civilized world, and the new and living issues confronting the American people, we believe that the time has arrived for a crystallization of the political reform forces of our country and the formation of what should be known as the People's Party of the United States of America.

Second, That we heartily indorse the demands of the platforms as adopted at St. Louis, in 1889; at Ocala, Fla., in 1890, and at Omaha, Neb., in 1891, by industrial organizations there represented, summarized as follows:

(a) The right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit, hence we demand the abolition of national banks as banks of issue, and as a substitute for national bank-notes, we demand that legal-tender treasury notes be issued in sufficient volume to transact the business of the country on a cash basis; without damage or especial advantage to any class or calling, such notes to be legal-tender in payment of all debts, public and private, and such notes, when demanded by the people, shall be loaned to them at not more than two per cent per annum on non-perishable products as indicated in the sub-treasury plan, and also upon real estate, with proper limitation upon the quantity of land and amount of money.

(b) We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

(c) We demand the passage of laws prohibiting alien ownership of land, and that Congress take prompt action to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by alien and foreign syndicates and that all lands held by railroads and other corporations, in excess of such as is actually used and needed by them, be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

(d) Believing the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to none, we demand that taxation, national, state or municipal, shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another.

(e) We demand that all revenues—national, state, or county—shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.

(f) We demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on income.

(g) We demand the most rigid, honest and just national control and supervision of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuses now existing, we demand the government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

(h) We demand the election of president, vice-president and United States senators by a direct vote of the people.

Third, That we urge united action of all progressive organizations in attendance upon the convention called for Feb. 22, 1892, by six of the leading reform organizations.

Fourth, That a National Central committee be appointed by this conference, to be composed of a chairman to be elected by this body, and of three members from each state represented, to be named by each state delegation.

Fifth, That this Central committee shall represent this body, attend the convention called for Feb. 22, 1892, and, if possible, unite with that and all other reform organizations there assembled. If no satisfactory arrangement can be effected, this committee shall call a national convention not later than June 1, 1892, for the purpose of nominating candidates for president and vice-president.

Sixth, That the members of the Central committee for each state, where there is no independent political organization, conduct an active system of political agitation in their respective states.

Additional resolutions presented and adopted:

Resolved, That the question of universal suffrage be recommended to the favorable consideration of the various states and territories.

Resolved, That while the party in power in 1869 pledged the faith of the nation to pay a debt in coin that had been contracted on a depreciated currency basis and payable in currency, thus adding one billion dollars to the burden of the people, which meant gold for the bondholders and depreciated currency for the soldier, and holding that the men who imperilled their lives to save the life of a nation should have been paid in money as good as that paid to the bondholder, we demand the issue of legal-tender notes in sufficient amount to make the pay of the soldiers equal to par with coin, or such other legislation as shall do equal and exact justice to the Union soldiers of this country.

Resolved, That as eight hours constitute a legal day's work for government employees in mechanical departments, we believe this principle should be further extended so as to apply to all corporations employing labor, in the different state statutes of the Union.

Resolved, That this convention denounces, in unmeasured terms, the action of the directors of the World's Columbian exposition on May 19, in refusing the minimum rate of wages asked for by the labor organizations of Chicago.

Resolved, That the attorney-general of the United States should make immediate provision to submit the act of March 2, 1889, providing for the opening of Oklahoma to homestead settlement, to the United States supreme court, so that the expensive and dilatory litigation now pending there be ended.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Lesser Forms of Business Combination toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

At a special Braintree town meeting, last week, a committee of five was appointed to investigate the status of any corporations, firms or individuals authorized or seeking authority to light the town by electricity, and also to consider the matter of electric lighting in general, as far as it relates to the town, and report at a subsequent town meeting.

Miss Halley, the newly appointed inspector of factories, has been examining the factories of Fall River, and has prosecuted the agent of the Union mills for violating the law against employing minors, and other prosecutions are to follow.

A bill imposing a collateral inheritance tax has passed the lower branch of the Legislature by a vote of 93 to 57.

Charles H. Litchman: It is useless to talk over labor matters, my friends, but when the West End Railroad company shall own Boston, and it shall be called Whitneyville, as some one has suggested, we shall open recruiting shops for a grand army to fight against such possession, or the question shall be decided at the ballot-box. Human life in the United States must be made more sacred than dollars and cents. Take the women and children out of our mills, where they are working 62 and 64 hours per week, and if we cannot help the mothers, we can at least strengthen the coming generations and eject into the children some common sense. Take some money out of the high school and start industrial training-schools, and educate the brain and hand of the boy. Stop making this country the dumping ground of foreign nations. Just as long as from 8,000 to 10,000 immigrants are landed weekly at Castle Garden, or the entrance to New York harbor, three fourths of whom never should be permitted to land on our shores, will there be a chaotic condition of affairs.

In Quincy, the landlords are to organize for mutual protection against undesirable tenants.

The spread of the Medical Aid and Sanitary association in the state promises to make trouble among the doctors. The object of the association is to secure for families first-class medical attendance at a minimum expense. About 50 physicians at Springfield held an indignation meeting last week over the matter, and induced three of their brethren who had arranged to serve the association to withdraw from all connection with it. Gen. Corse is at the head of the association in Boston. It is destined to do an important work among people unable to pay the enormous rates charged by popular physicians. The city is divided into districts, and in each district one or more able physicians attend to the members of the association. A member may call upon the physician in his or her district at any time, or may summon the physician at the first symptom of illness, and exact from him the same diligence and care that he gives the wealthiest patient. The association foots the doctor's bill. In cases of serious sickness or accident, members have the advantage of a council of physicians. In fact, the association intends to furnish to working people all the medical and surgical treatment they or their families require, and the only expense for it will be a small annual fee, payable weekly. By special arrangements, medicines will be supplied to members of the association for the uniform price of 15 cents for each prescription. There is a nominal admission fee to the association, and each member makes a small weekly payment. For instance, for a family of 10 persons, the weekly dues are only 60 cents, and this rate is not to be

increased, even if every member of the family should fall ill and require the services of a physician. There is, of course, this restriction, that persons who are now ill and under a doctor's care cannot join the association; but otherwise it is open to all.

Kansas.

Free Press, Winfield: In the near future, every city will be clamoring for the ownership of its own water-works, street railroads and gas and electric lights.

There are 72 alliance co-operative stores in the state which divide with or return the net profits to the purchasers who are stockholders in the concerns. This plan has proven successful in Europe and in the United States, wherever conducted on a cash basis. The state exchange at Kansas City, Kan., is doing a business of nearly \$2,000 per day, and all for cash.

Pennsylvania.

The strikers in the coke region having returned to work, some of the operators have announced the fact that prices will be reduced. This action is creating great dissatisfaction among the workingmen, who state that they are ready to strike again when ordered.

Illinois.

The Chicago gas trust has settled with the city authorities by agreeing to pay into the city treasury three per cent of the earnings, the sum paid not to be less than \$150,000.

Indiana.

The strike of the Midland railroad employees, to which reference was made last week, still continues. The people of Waveland have addressed a monster petition, containing the names of all the principal business men, to the manager of the road, telling him that the claims of the strikers are just and must be conceded, and expressing their intention to not patronize the road until the employees are paid.

Ohio.

The Investigator, Atlantic: When the workingmen of a great country like this demand a change in government so great as that of its ownership of all railroads and telegraph lines, it is evidence to unprejudiced minds that beneath the surface of society is a profound agitation of economic questions.

California.

State papers give accounts of the irrigation programme under the Wright law. Owners of land requiring irrigation from a common source are authorized to form irrigation districts, to which are given the powers of municipal corporations. These districts may condemn water-right and right of way, construct canals and reservoirs and issue bonds to pay for the same, the bonds to have twenty years to run, to pay 6 per cent interest semi-annually, and they are to be a first lien upon the lands in the district. The supreme court has affirmed the constitutionality of this law in four different cases. Under the act, 30 districts have been organized, with an area of over 2,000,000 acres, \$11,000,000 in bonds have been voted and about \$4,000,000 of bonds have been sold or exchanged for water rights, and purchasers have been found here, in the east, and in Europe. The average cost of putting water on lands in districts already organized is a little over \$8 an acre. Without water, most of the land is worth no more than \$10 or \$15 an acre. With water, its value is increased at once from 100 to 500 per cent.

Miscellaneous.

The meanest man on record is said to live in Centre county, Penn. He sold his son-in-law one half a cow, and then refused to divide the milk, maintaining that he sold only the front half. The buyer was also required to provide the feed the cow consumed, and compelled to carry water to her three times a day. Recently, the cow hooked the old man, and now he is suing his son-in-law for damages.

NEWS FROM THE CLUBS.

[Items of information concerning the work and proceedings of nationalist clubs cordially solicited. We call attention to sundry advertisements of clubs in another column. Our rates for three lines for one year, with privilege of changing matter at will, are \$10.]

West and South.

The Cleveland (O.) Franklin Nationalist club, at a recent meeting, listened to a report from Dr. Tuckerman, chairman of the municipal committee. He said that the board of control had taken action on the communication from the club requesting that the law providing for the inspection of school buildings be enforced. This caused great satisfaction to those present. He then spoke of the tax levy, and said that high taxes were driving capital out of the city. "There is only one way out of this dilemma," said the doctor, "and that is for the city to assume charge of its income-bearing property. If the city owned its gas-works and street railways, there would not be so much taxation, and money would pour into the treasury besides." He then asked that a committee be appointed to draft a communication on this subject, to be sent to the mayor, the board of control and the city council; John Gallagher, Dr. Tuckerman and Peter Witt were named as the committee. The club is taking great interest in municipal affairs, and has made its influence felt to such an extent that the city officials treat the suggestions made in the most courteous manner.

The Washington (D. C.) Nationalist Club, No. 1, at its last meeting listened to an interesting lecture by J. L. McCreery. He drew a picture of the working classes occupying as he considered the position of steerage passengers in our ship of state. The club meetings will conclude for the summer with an address by Ferdinand Schmidt, on the 17th, on the "German Labor Movement." One week later, a musical entertainment for the benefit of the club has been projected by the lady members, "who, by the way, are always to be depend upon in cases of emergency," adds the secretary.

The Nationalist club of Illinois (Chicago) is doing vigorous work for the cause. A member of the club writes: "The new political party that has appeared will give the nationalists a fine chance to place their views before audiences that are seeking light, and cannot fail to bring large numbers of desirable recruits into the ranks. All nationalists ought to embrace the opportunity to its fullest extent. An address made before the Iroquois club (composed of silk-stocking democrats), by Mr. C. S. Darrow, one of our members, seems to have made a good impression. Mr. Darrow has been assistant corporation counsel for the city for two years, and is now attorney for the Chicago and North Western railroad, but, nevertheless, he seems to have talked right out in meeting. Jesse Cox, our president, was nominated for judge on the circuit bench, at the recent municipal election, but failed of an election, much to the regret of the reform element here.

THE NEW NATION.

[From our issue of Jan. 31.]

Why a New Nation? Why will not the old one do?

These are some of the reasons why it will not do: In the old nation, the system by which the work of life is carried on is a sort of perpetual warfare, a struggle, literally to the death, between men and men. It is a system by which

the contestants are forced to waste in fighting more effort than they have left for work. The sordid and bitter nature of the struggle so hardens, for the most part, the relations of men to their fellows that in the domestic circle alone do they find exercise for the better, tenderer and more generous elements of their nature.

Another reason why the old nation will not do, is, that in it the people are divided, against nature, into classes: one very small class being the wealthy; another and much larger class being composed of those who maintain with difficulty a condition of tolerable comfort constantly shadowed by apprehension of its loss; with, finally, a vastly greater and quite preponderating class of very poor, who have no dependence even for bare existence save a wage which is uncertain from day to day.

In the old nation, moreover, half the people—the women, are dependent upon the personal favor of the other half,—the men, for the means of support; no other alternative being left them but to seek a beggarly pittance as workers in a labor market already overcrowded by men. In this old nation, the women, are, indeed, as a sex, far worse off than the men; for, while the rich man is at least independent, the rich woman, while more luxuriously cared for, is as dependent for support on her husband's favor as the wife of the poorest laborer. Meanwhile, a great many women openly, and no one can tell how many secretly, unable to find men who will support them on more honorable terms, are compelled to secure their livelihood by the sale of their bodies, while a multitude of others are constrained to accept loveless marriage bonds.

In this old nation, a million strong men are even now vainly crying out for work to do, though the world needs so much more work done. Meanwhile, though the fathers and husbands can find no work, there is plenty always for the little children, who flock, in piteous armies, through the chilling mists of winter dawns into the factories.

In this old nation, not only does wealth devour poverty, but wealth devours wealth, and, year by year, the assets of the nation pass more and more swiftly and completely into the hands of a few score individuals out of 65,000,000 people.

In this old nation, year by year, the natural wealth of the land, the heritage of the people, is being wasted by the recklessness of individual greed. The forests are ravaged, the fisheries of river and sea destroyed, the fertility of the soil exhausted.

In this old nation, under a vain form of free political institutions, the inequalities of wealth and the irresistible influence of money upon a people devoured by want, are making nominally republican institutions a machine more convenient even than despotism for the purposes of plutocracy and plunder.

These are a few of the reasons why the old nation will not do, and these, in turn, are a few of the reasons why men are looking and longing for The New Nation:—

In The New Nation, work will not be warfare, but fraternal co-operation toward a store in which all will share alike. Human effort, no longer wasted by battle and cross-purposes, will create an abundance previously impossible.

More important far, the conditions of labor under the plan of fraternal co-operation will tend as strongly to stimulate fraternal sentiments and affectionate relations among the workers as the present conditions tend to repress them. The kindly side of men will no longer be known only to their wives and children.

In The New Nation, there will be neither rich nor poor; all will be equal partners in the product of the national industrial organization.

In The New Nation, the dependence of one sex upon another for livelihood, which now poisons love and gives lust its opportunity, will be forever at an end. As equal and independent partners in the product of the nation, women will have attained an economical enfranchisement, without which no political device could help them. Prostitution will be a forgotten horror.

In The New Nation, there will be no unemployed. All will be enabled and required to do their part according to their gifts, save only those whom age, sickness or infirmity has exempted; and these, no longer as now trodden under foot, will be served and guarded as tenderly as are the wounded in battle by their comrades.

In The New Nation, the children will be cherished as precious jewels, inestimable pledges of the divine love to men. Though

mother and father forsake them, the nation will take them up.

In The New Nation, education will be equal and universal, and will cover the entire period of life during which it is now enjoyed by the most favored classes.

In The New Nation, the wasting of the people's heritage will cease, the forests will be replanted, the rivers and seas repopulated, and fertility restored to exhausted lands. The natural resources of the country will be cared for and preserved as a common estate, and one to which the living have title only as trustees for the unborn.

In The New Nation, the debauching influence of wealth being banished, and the people raised to a real equality by equal education and resources, a true democratic and popular government will become possible as it never was before. For the first time in history the world will behold a true republic, rounded, full-orbed, complete,—a republic, social, industrial, political.

These will be some of the characteristics of The New Nation, to the advancement of which, till it shall have utterly replaced and supplanted the old nation, this paper is pledged.

MEETINGS OF NATIONALIST CLUBS

Are held as follows, and all persons interested will be gladly welcomed at any of these meetings:—

BOSTON. First Nationalist Club. Reception rooms at 184 Boylston street; open daily. Information and publications on Nationalism furnished to any desiring them. Regular meeting of the Club, 2d Wednesday of each month.

BOSTON. Second Nationalist will meet Sunday evening, June 14, in William Parkman Hall, 3 Boylston place, at 7.45 o'clock.

HAVERHILL. First Nationalist, business meeting, 2d Wednesday of each month. Public meeting, every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at 73 Merrimack street, rooms 5 and 6. (Pamphlets solicited.)

LYNN, MASS. First Nationalist meets every Wednesday evening, at Park hall, opposite City hall. Correspondence and pamphlets solicited. John T. Broderick, Cor. Secretary, 33 Elm street.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. First Nationalist meets 1st and 3d Friday evenings, at Earley's hall, 1321 Arch street.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. The Pacific Club holds weekly Sunday evening propaganda meetings, at 909½ Market street.

SOUTH FRAMINGHAM, MASS. Club does not meet regularly. W. D. McPherson, secretary, solicits correspondence and pamphlets for distribution.

WASHINGTON, D. C. Nationalist Club, No. 1, meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock, at Nationalist hall, 609 F street, N. W.

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Its influence is good. . . . A portion of it is evidently modelled on Godin's profit sharing community, at Guise, France. — *Detroit Tribune*.

Deserves well of the public. It is an American Aristocracy of heart and brain — government by the best, as the word implies — to which the book leads up. . . . Some of its teachings are grand. — *Detroit Journal*.

Told with no inconsiderable strength. . . . Will be read for its own sake as well as for that of the moral involved. — *Detroit Free Press*.

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